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554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*, 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [787] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years. 794 668

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah. 159 157

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

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159 medicine and became pregnant. While she was with child
157 she had a vision that her unborn son would be a prophet and free the people of Fiji from foreign domination. She told the child of her dream when he was still young and died shortly after. At a government school in Viti Levu the boy was trained to be a village teacher. He learned a fair amount of English. During his youth he traveled in the Fiji group and also visited New Zealand.

When I knew Tarai he was about 28 years old, lighter skinned and smaller in bone structure and stature than the average Fijian. He looked like a half-caste, and since his father was pure Fijian, his mother must have had some European blood. His face was troubled, but his manner gentle. After many months he told me that as a youth he had begun to be visited in his dreams by his ancestor gods. They promised that if he would live a chaste life for seven years they would gradually reveal to him the truth about his people and give him "mana" to lead them to greatness. They said that Fiji had once been a powerful nation like Great Britain and had ruled the entire Pacific. Fiji was destined to reach these heights again, and if he carried out their instructions he was to be the leader. Tarai resolved to live a life of chastity, but in spite of his firm resolutions he failed again and again. However, the visions continued.

Meanwhile his father had remarried and returned to live on Kambara. He called for his eldest son to come home and help him cultivate his ancestral land, and Tarai returned as village teacher. He settled down and built himself a bachelor house. He was intelligent, industrious, and highly respected on the island, a good gardener and sailor. When I knew him his father was continually urging him to marry, for he had been betrothed for years to his cross cousin. Tarai delayed the wedding, however, and was still sure in his heart that if he carried out the instructions of his ancestors he would become a great leader. At the same time he felt that he

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could not make the effort. After leaving Fiji, I received a letter from Tarai telling of his marriage. He proudly described how his father had killed four pigs, and a great many people had attended the ceremonies.

Some individuals, however, have been able to make an adjustment between the new and the old religions with the minimum of conflict. The life of old Moto of Undu, for instance, is tranquil. Moto was born shortly after Christianity had been introduced to Kambara. His father became a Christian, and Moto grew up to accept the new faith wholeheartedly. However, in spite of the injunction against speaking of the old gods, Moto learned something about them from his father. As he grew older he thought more and more about the changes that had taken place in his lifetime, the old Lauan customs and how they had been altered by the coming of Christianity and the British rule. At about the age of 90, when we knew him, he was able to free himself sufficiently from the mission yoke to tell us what he knew of the old religion. In the course of our discussion one day, he said: "You know, when I was young I thought that the 'way of the devil' (as the old religion is called) was very different from Christianity, but now that I am old I see little difference between them." This statement is significant for it represents one native's carefully thought out conclusions of a lifetime.

Gradually native myths and tales which harmonized the two religions were created and spread through the group. The translation of a version of the creation of man, collected in Viti Levu by Mr. Brewster in 1893, follows:[52]

"Formerly there were two gods, Jehovah and Ndengei (the great snake god of Viti Levu), and at one time they had a dispute. Ndengei said, 'Jehovah, pay obedience to me.' Jehovah replied, 'Ndengei, serve me. Do you not know that I am the supreme Chief and Lord of Heaven?' To this

[52] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 249-250.